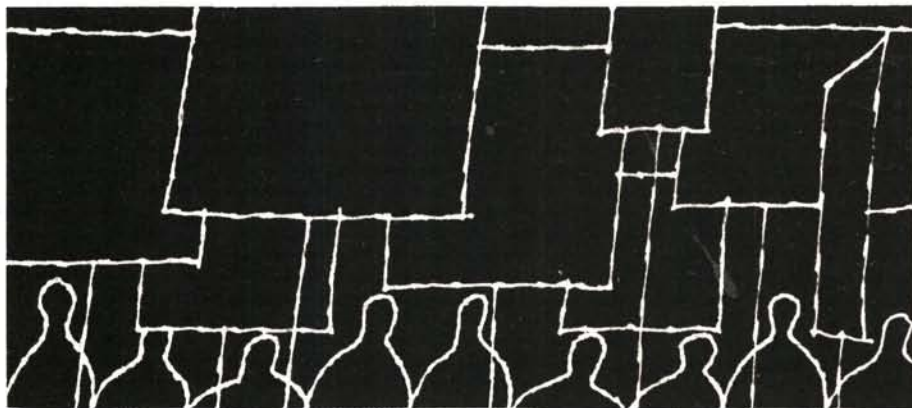


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RESISTANCE AND MARCUSE

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Mc CARTHY IN CHICAGO

Douglas Ireland

NUMBERS GAME IN VIETNAM (cont.)

Michael Novak

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NEWS AND VIEWS

• • • • •

Christian Century took President Johnson's Thanksgiving Proclamation, dissected it, and pronounced it "not a genuine expression of Thanksgiving but militaristic propaganda."

The magazine saw the proclamation in part as "a chauvinistic justification of U.S. military intervention in southeast Asia." It supported its argument by quoting a sentence from the statement and adding editorial comment in parenthetical form:

"We are engaged in a painful conflict in Asia (true), which was not of our choosing (false), and in which we are involved in fidelity to a sacred promise (false) to help a nation which has been the victim of aggression (false)."

An article in the current issue of *Pax Romana Journal*, the bi-monthly publication of Catholic lay intellectual groups headquartered in Fribourg, devastates the proposition of a recent writer in *Herder Correspondence* that "no future South African Hochhuth will be able to vilify the Catholic bishops of South Africa for failure to speak out clearly and often on the apartheid issue."

Paul Goller, editor of *Challenge*, independent South African review edited by Catholic laymen, itemizes a situation which leaves the Church exposed and vulnerable, from the apostolic delegate to the white man in the pew.

His indictment cites lavish new hospital, school and parish facilities built to cater to whites only ("while African priests in Soweto write begging letters for support to build a church costing less than 10 percent" of the cost of a new church in a Johannesburg suburb); the uneven deployment of priests and nuns (in the Johannesburg diocese, 279 nuns teach in white schools, and 39 in mission schools for non-whites; all 14 teaching priests and 51 brothers in the diocese do so in white schools); and ecclesiastical complacency over

government muzzling of clergy so that they cannot preach on the moral aspects of race and politics.

"Lack of charismatic, sacrificial leadership from the hierarchy, tacit acceptance of the status quo by middle-class clergy and laity, absence of Christian social and political consciousness among the working-class members of the Church—these," writes Goller, "are the indices of the true state of the Church in South Africa."

The opportunity afforded by the Council to fuse, "deliberately, imaginatively, sacrificially," the reforms called for by the Council and demanded by the state of the Church in South Africa has been almost totally squandered, according to Goller.

No need any longer, it seems, for the introduction of biological weapons into the war in Vietnam. According to anthropologist Alexander Alland, Jr., of Columbia University, the type of "conventional" warfare that has been raging in Vietnam for the past three years amounts to "a kind of covert biological warfare," and has set the stage for a massive outbreak of the plague.

Plagues occur, Alland notes, when a bacillus (*pasteurella pestis*) is communicated by wild rats to highly susceptible domestic rats; when the domestic rats die, their fleas carry the bacillus to persons.

The widespread destruction of woodland and foliage through the napalming of the countryside tends to bring wild rats increasingly into contact with domestic rats in Vietnam, to begin the plague cycle, Alland points out.

He cites figures showing a rise in cases of the plague in South Vietnam from fewer than 40 annually between 1954 and 1962, to 4,453 cases in 1966, and compares the situation to England of the fourteenth-century, when destruction of the woodland by an expanding population drove wild rats out

of their natural habitat, and into contact with domestic rats—with such disastrous results for England.

"Our defoliation in napalming of the countryside may be having the same effect in Vietnam," Alland declared during an interview at the recent convention of the American Anthropological Association in Washington.

"South Vietnamese authorities are aware of the problem, at least insofar as it relates to the cities, and the program of rat elimination is under way," he remarked. "But rat elimination is a rather quixotic pursuit in Southeast Asia."

Another factor threatening health conditions among the Vietnamese, Alland declares, is the dislocation of medically unsophisticated people outside of the small areas where they have genetically adapted. "The first line of defense for a medically unsophisticated people is to stay where they are—that is, to stay in the area where they have worked out an adaptation to the environment and its diseases. We know that if they move 20 or 30 miles, disease rates go up. Under severe dislocation and relocation, which we are now seeing, they cross-infect each other with exotic diseases against which they have no immunity."

Adding to the health hazard is Vietnam's humid climate, a perfect incubator for all kinds of diseases.

Odds and Ends:

—Washington writer Colman McCarthy on Walter Cronkite and the war in Vietnam: "Asian life is even less valuable to us [than life generally] . . . Walter Cronkite announces the body count with the same precision he announces the Dow Jones averages. Up 200 casualties this week, industrials down 25 points. 300 Communists killed, utilities up 8 points. 'And that's the way it is,' intones Mr. Cronkite."

—Paul Healy of the New York *Daily News*' Washington bureau on Senator Eugene McCarthy: "He has the placidly confident air of a Catholic monsignor whose building fund is over-subscribed."

JOHN DEEDY

CORRESPONDENCE



'Barbarous English'

The following excerpts from a letter to William F. Buckley, Jr., by Hugh Kenner, are printed at the suggestion of Mr. Buckley and with the permission of Mr. Kenner.

Santa Barbara, Calif.

"... it is against the barbarous English of the missals that the real thrust of your complaint should be directed, equally unintelligible whether heard from the lectern or perused silently in the pew. Over this ill-structured Douai English, bogged down from the first in a superstitious veneration of isolated sentence after isolated sentence, current revisions merely wipe a damp cloth brightening isolated words to a still more perplexing sheen: "thousand dollars" for "talent" and "humble" for "meek" and "happy" for "blessed." ...

We must set aside, I think, what is inevitably your area of strongest feeling, that what you have been used to since childhood is going. This is not, in a long perspective, really relevant, provided your grandchildren can be accustomed from childhood to something better. As they can be, provided the Philistines of the liturgy can be gotten to consider the radiance that attends a meaning communicated. ...

But the *mysterium fidei* is not what you term "the mysterious universal"—on another page you call it "inscrutable"—i.e., the Latin wording. The *mysterium fidei* is that reality which the words are about; it is merely obfuscated by having yet a further and unnecessary mystery draped over it. I would argue that Catholics like yourself, wedded to the Latin, are (1) tending for understandable psychological reasons to blend these two mysteries and think of them as inseparable; (2) being encouraged in this fusion by the gaucherie of what is offered as vernacular clarification; and hence (3) being edged into an extreme of situating the *virtu* of the Latin precisely in its remoteness from anything readily comprehended of man. Which

(Continued on page 391)

NEWS & VIEWS: 370

CORRESPONDENCE: 371

EDITORIALS: 371

THE NUMBERS GAME IN VIETNAM (CONT.): Michael Novak 373

MR. JONES GOES TO WASHINGTON: John Galloway 374

READY, WILLING AND ABLE: Douglas Ireland 375

RESISTANCE AND TECHNOLOGY: Daniel Callahan 377

JOHN STUART MILL ON 'INTEMPERATE DISCUSSION': 379

WOMEN IN A CONTRACEPTIVE CULTURE: Patricia Koval 381

VERSE: Catherine Murray 382 Charles L. Regan 385

Mother Mary Anthony, S.H.C.J. 385

RECORDS: B. H. Haggin 383 **THE SCREEN:** Philip T. Hartung 384

BOOKS: 386

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JUST WAR

From an intellectual point of view, at least, the member of a traditional Protestant "peace church" or a Catholic pacifist has a somewhat easier row to hoe than the Catholic who follows the traditional "just war" theory. Some pacifists, of course, have nothing but scorn for the exponents of the just war, or the "just warriors," as the pacifists rather unkindly refer to them. As they see it, the just war has been used historically only to justify one war after another. What hierarchy, the pacifists ask, ever condemned one of its own national wars? The question is a tough one. The American hierarchy, for example, held its tongue as Dresden was destroyed and Hiroshima and Nagasaki were nuclearized. The record of other national hierarchies is no better.

There is, then, something to be said for the pacifist's disdain for the just war theory. It is not, however, the whole story. The Christian just war theory goes back to St. Augustine and has had various elaborations over the centuries since. In all its various forms, the traditional conditions for a just war represented a part of the Church's historic effort to "civilize" violence as much as possible, to protect non-combatants and reduce fighting as much as possible by such means as "the Truce of God" and what was in medieval times the widespread practice of halting combat on holy days and during sacred seasons. (The Christmas truce in Vietnam has ample historical background.) Just war theorists have always stressed not only the need for a just cause but the whole question of the means to be used in warfare, as well as the need for proportionality between the end sought and the lengths one is willing to go to pursue it. It hardly needs emphasizing how badly the Vietnam war needs to be judged in these terms.

These reflections were brought to mind by two contradictory Catholic

views which crossed our desk in one week—one illustrating the total abandonment of the traditional Catholic concern for just means and the other a discriminating, careful evaluation of the war precisely in the light of the traditional Catholic thinking. The first view was put forward by *National Review* editor William F. Buckley, Jr. in his syndicated column early in December. Rejoicing at the exodus of Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, Mr. Buckley concluded his column by arguing that “Mr. McNamara’s refusal to give the military in Vietnam operative control of the war has cost this country a great deal. The criticism by the military on this point alone is all but unanimous. The military does not ask to be given sovereignty over the value judgments involved: let the President and the Congress decide when and where the wars must be fought. But the fighting of them is something which one is better trained to do at West Point and the General Staff School, than at M.I.T. and the Ford Motor Company.”

Mr. Buckley, in short, would hand the actual operation of the war over to the generals: a move which has a surface note of rationality but which in fact involves the total surrender of civilian concern for the means to be used in warfare. We do not doubt, just for one example, that some in the military would vote right now to use tactical nuclear weapons in Vietnam; thank God they are overruled by civilians. Similarly, we do not doubt that some generals would argue for a pre-emptive strike now against China, and we trust that civilian leaders will continue to overrule them.

In the case of Vietnam, Mr. Buckley would argue that he is willing to let civilians decide the when and where; he wants only to let the military decide the means. But this is precisely the point. To let the military alone decide which weapons will be used might well mean an all-out escalation of the war in Vietnam, probably including a large-scale attack on the dikes in North Vietnam, which would be tantamount to genocide, as well as the use of at least tactical nuclear weapons. This kind of crucial decision cannot be turned over to the generals. The fact is that to yield control over such points to the military is simply to surrender control over the moral character of the day-by-day conduct of the war.

A more encouraging example of current discussion of the war is provided by the December issue of *U.S. Catholic*, published in Chicago by the Claretian Fathers. In a carefully reasoned, well-argued 3-page editorial, the editors of *U.S. Catholic* conclude: “The war in Vietnam is immoral.” Interestingly enough, one of their arguments illustrates the concern over means that the Buckley argument would eliminate. Citing some of the features of the Vietnam war they find it hard or impossible to justify, the editors say: “Among these are the use of napalm, an inflammable jelly that cruelly injures and permanently scars the unfortunate people it falls on and is a substance which cannot be used with precision but only indiscrimi-

nately, afflicting both combatants and non-combatants alike in a no-front war; defoliation, a stripping away of all growth that could possibly shelter enemy troops, a tactic that must necessarily take innocent lives and destroy homes of non-combatants; the arbitrary uprooting of people and relocation of them for a number of reasons but all in violation of their bodily integrity and without any real regard for the effect that such relocation has on the families concerned.”

U.S. Catholic does not, of course, rest its case solely on the means used. The editors talk of the brutalizing effect the war is having on all of us, of the constant shifts in the arguments advanced by the Administration, of the unrepresentative nature of the South Vietnam government, of the futility of the war in which we cannot hope to achieve an end proportionate to the cost in suffering and death of the war itself. In all of this, *U.S. Catholic* is acting in the best Catholic tradition. As its editors write, “We surely do not accept the moral irresponsibility of ‘my country, right or wrong’ and while we do not for a minute equate the policies of our government with those of Nazi Germany, we do find a similar responsibility among the people of Hitler’s Germany and among the American people today. Just as it was then the responsibility of the Germans to speak out against the immoral policies of the Nazis, it is, we believe, the responsibility of Americans who see the Vietnam war as immoral to speak out.” Precisely, and this is just what the editors of *U.S. Catholic* do. In the process they have accomplished two things: they have added another important name to the growing list of Catholics who oppose the war, and they have at the same time demonstrated once more that the just war theory, properly used, is not a corrupt tool of the just warriors but can be a useful, indeed essential, instrument for moral judgments on our nation’s or any nation’s conduct of military affairs.

DANGER AHEAD

From the time of its inception in 1930, the communications department of the National Council of Catholic Men has performed commendably. Its radio-TV documentaries, dramatizations and talk programs have conveyed an accurate and intelligent idea of Catholic thought and trends. NCCM productions have been consistent award winners, and one of its shows, “The Catholic Hour,” has become a byword in religious programming.

In the process, the hierarchy (since it was the bishops who set up the department and who help finance it) has been well served; responsible lay initiative (since the department has been in the hands of laymen) has enjoyed an important extension of episcopal confidence; and the American Church (since the department’s distance, organizationally and geographically, from the official structure in Washington made clearer its unofficial character)

has been spared the necessity of having to concern itself about everything the department produced. The latter circumstance was not accidental; the founding bishops of 1930 specifically envisioned an office whose unofficial status would be indication that its programs were not encyclicals.

All of this today stands on the verge of being radically changed, and not for the better. The NCCM communications department's alertness to the dynamics at work in the Church and its identification with many from the progressive Christian community have antagonized conservatives and created a pressure to bring the department under a stricter control. The pressure has been building for some time, but has been especially felt since the episcopal suppression in 1964 of NCCM's series on the Church and birth control. For all practical purposes, the issue became joined when the bishops last year used a recommendation of the Council's communications decree to found under official patronage the National Catholic Office for Radio and Television.

Theoretically, NCORT is a service agency; NCCM is essentially in production. But this distinction does not neatly compartmentalize roles and functions. There are overlaps that point up a confusion of purpose and a superfluity of organizations. Nor is the situation helped by NCORT's propensity to strong-arm its way about the communications scene, using as a club the line that it "speaks for the bishops." The tactic not merely complicates the existence of NCCM's communications department, but confuses the networks' understanding on whom is to be dealt with and in what areas.

The NCCM-NCORT tension has been whispered about for some months, but it became open talk with the publication in the Dec. 9 *America* of an attack on the NCCM communications department that was devious, if not outright dishonest. In an attempt to demonstrate that NCCM's "engine [had] run down," *America* cited several NCCM awards, but broke off at 1958, as though that were the terminal point (some 30 awards have been won since 1958); it alleged a drastic decline in ratings (no accurate figures are available, but if increased station affiliations are a factor, NCCM audiences may be up rather than down); and it charged a deemphasis in documentaries and expository talk programs (when these remain the backbone of NCCM programming).

Wittingly or unwittingly, *America* is playing NCORT's game, and NCORT's game is one to be nervous about in view of the matters at stake. These include not only the preeminence of NCCM's role in network religious programming, but lay responsibility and departmental autonomy as well. And then there is the question of quality. Whatever else might be said of NCCM's work, it is intellectually respectable. NCORT has given no early assurance that it is going to operate on comparable intellectual levels; one of its first involvements was as consultants to "The Flying Nun."

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The Numbers Game in Vietnam (Cont.)

General Westmoreland and Ambassador Bunker announced recently that two-thirds of the villagers of South Vietnam are now under government control. They arrived at this figure in a curious way. According to Robert W. Komer, supervisor of the pacification program in South Vietnam, the method of calculation is as follows. The 12,600 hamlets in the country have been divided into six classifications, ranging from "complete government control" (A) to "complete Viet Cong control" (V). The classifications derive from eighteen criteria—which in the field involve countless acts of judgment (and guesswork) and are something of a joke to the Americans who file the required reports. The number of persons believed to live in hamlets of each category is as follows:

- A: 659,000 (Complete government control).
- B: 3,462,000 (Almost secure).
- C: 4,117,000 (Government "clearly dominant" but perhaps half of guerrilla forces still on duty; V.C. collect taxes).
- D: 2,103,000 (V.C. terrorism, night activities, and guerrilla forces $\frac{2}{3}$ intact).
- E: 331,000 (Minimal government presence).
- V: 3,989,000 (V.C. supremacy, except for occasional allied forays).

Total 14,661,000

If one studies these figures, it becomes clear that allied control is much more tenuous than Westmoreland and Bunker suggest. One might conclude, for example, that less than one in fifteen South Vietnamese (category A) live in wholly secure areas. Or that only categories A and B—representing about twenty-eight percent of the peasant population—are secure government areas. Realism, it seems, would urge that categories C and D—over forty percent of the peasants—represent, at best, "hotly contested" areas. Effective control in Vietnam means control at night. If half the local guerrilla unit is still *in* the hamlet (C), the approach of an independent V.C. unit may make the hamlet so vulnerable that the V.C. will operate effectively and no one will talk. A single attack can make a C hamlet into a D at any time; a C hamlet remains C at the discretion of the Viet Cong.

Another fascinating figure is reached by comparing A and V: 30 percent of the peasants under total V.C. control, less than 5 percent under total government control. The games with these numbers are almost endless. To say that the government controls $\frac{2}{3}$ of the peasants and the V.C. only $\frac{1}{3}$ is one of the games our officials play.

Perhaps it is more to the point to notice that General Westmoreland regularly points to two provinces as the

most outstanding examples of pacification: Phu Yen and Binh Dinh. Thomas Fox, an American living in the capital of Phu Yen province, described in *The National Catholic Reporter* in September how the North Vietnamese came within an ace of overrunning the city in August, and how security in the capital has collapsed to a point lower than at any time in the last two years. Further to the north, Hoi An—which never fell to the Viet Minh even in the French days—was overrun twice last summer. Since the great battles in the empty hills near Dak To, the American forces formerly supplying the security in Phu Yen and Binh Dinh are no longer protecting peasants; they are guarding bleak mountains.

The United States has now rained more bombs on the two Vietnams than the Allies poured on Germany and Italy in the Second World War—enough for several pounds of high explosives per peasant. A U.S. officer in Saigon recently disclosed that 88 percent of all U.S. artillery and other fire is aimed, not at specific personnel, but at unmonitored zones and at random—the famous “free strike zones” and “suspected” targets. No one doubts that unrelenting U.S. firepower can ultimately grind the Viet Cong into virtual impotence. Observers in Vietnam who note the rising tide of bitterness and contempt against the Americans, however, wonder how many Americans it will require to keep watch on the other Vietnamese, lest more and more of them turn on us. The legacy of destruction Americans are leaving in Vietnam will not make our children proud.

What, then, can we do? The United States must turn this struggle over to the Vietnamese. A civilian government is eager to take charge, eager to call a cease fire, eager to begin negotiations with the N.L.F. and with Hanoi. The present military leaders are considered by many Vietnamese as traitors to Vietnam for having fought with the French. They are also widely considered to be the leaders preferred by the Americans. Ho Chi Minh has sworn that he will never negotiate with an unpopular and (in his eyes but not his alone) “puppet” regime. The *junta*, naturally, refuses to negotiate with the N.L.F. and is not anxious to negotiate with Hanoi. The generals have a vested interest in the maintenance of the *status quo*. They can afford to be generous with the blood and wealth of Americans.

The Americans, on the other hand, cannot withdraw overnight. Logistics as well as political considerations demand a withdrawal spaced out over several years. Truong Dinh Dzu, the runner-up in the September elections, insists that a cease-fire is possible. He began negotiations with the N.L.F. in June. Vietnamese of all persuasions, he maintains, recognize the futility of the vast bloodshed. Honor, he points out, requires that Vietnamese yield to no one but to Vietnamese.

If the Americans want a cease-fire they can get it. The first roadblock is the militancy of the Vietnamese *junta*. The second is the desire of many Americans for a “vic-

tory.” A third is the honor of the North Vietnamese, subjected now to blackmail through air power. A fourth is the real power of the N.L.F., the only “truly mass-based political party in South Vietnam” (Douglas Pike, *The Viet Cong*). A truly generous effort by United States leaders, confident in United States power and needing to feel no insecurity, might find a way to overcome each of these obstacles.

MICHAEL NOVAK



Mr. Jones Goes to Washington

Despite the refusal of Congress to enact a fair housing law, advocates of open housing may be on the verge of a significant victory. This optimism stems from the Supreme Court's announcement on December 4th that it will hear arguments in a major open-housing case. The case in question concerns a Mr. Joseph Lee Jones and his wife, Barbara, both employees of the Veterans Administration in East St. Louis, Missouri. In June, 1965, the couple found a lot they liked in Paddock Woods, a subdivision on the outskirts of St. Louis. The Joneses selected from the builder's offerings a house selling for \$28,195. Since Mr. Jones is a Negro, the builder refused their offer to buy.

Mr. and Mrs. Jones, backed by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, appealed to the federal courts, their major contention being that discrimination of this sort is illegal by virtue of an 1866 Federal Civil Rights Law which states: “All citizens of the United States shall have the same right, in every state and territory, as is enjoyed by white citizens thereof, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold and convey real and personal property.” The act, reenacted in 1870 and later recodified, remains on the statute books, currently in Section 1982 of the United States Code.

The current range of this legislation is complicated by several factors. The 1866 law was based on the authority of the 13th Amendment which forbids both slavery and involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crimes. The Amendment also grants Congress power to enforce this prohibition by appropriate measures. In pursuance of this responsibility, Congress, in 1866, passed the above law in attempting to rid the nation of all vestiges of slavery.

So far so good, but things became murky following the adoption, in 1868, of the 14th Amendment which guarantees to all persons the equal protection of the law. Seven years later Congress used the 14th Amendment as a basis for making it a misdemeanor to deny to any person, on account of race, equal rights and privileges in inns, theaters, amusement places and transportation facilities. This ambitious effort of 1875, the last civil rights bill to pass Congress for three-quarters of a century, was soon de-

clared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court on the grounds that Congress could not use its 14th Amendment powers to prohibit private acts of discrimination. According to the Court's unhistorical opinion, the amendment applied only to state laws and proceedings which denied equal protection.

Currently at issue, then, is whether the 1866 law relied upon by the Joneses is similarly limited to state acts or whether its provisions extend to individual acts of discrimination. Were the Court to choose this latter view, the result would be a fair housing law far tougher than those rejected by Congress. Such a decision would enable the federal courts to bar racial discrimination in all housing transactions—including private sales and rentals between individuals. Should the Court consider this too bold an initial step, a more modest alternative would be for the Justices to infuse more life into the 14th Amendment by redefining the concept of "state action." This approach would establish the principle that a private individual—in this instance the builder—who is permitted by the state to perform an essentially public function assumes the same constitutional responsibilities as the state.

This is the view favored by the Justice Department when in a recent friend-of-court brief it urged the Court to review the Jones Case. The Department brief noted that the Paddock Woods development, when completed, will house 1,000 people and form part of an even larger complex of 2,700 families constructed in the area by the same builder with financing from the Federal Housing Administration. The developer has laid out the streets

and has undertaken to provide basic community services such as garbage collection. In short, states the Justice Department, involved here "is the creation of a complete suburban community"—the legal equivalent of a municipality. This line of reasoning has been employed previously by the Court when, for instance, it held that a privately owned park in the center of Macon, Georgia could not bar Negroes.

The Justice Department brief, unlike that filed by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, does not seek to end all discrimination in the sale or rental of housing. In fact, the Department emphasizes that the Jones Case, in its view "does not involve the validity of a single, isolated refusal to sell to a Negro when comparable housing is readily available," but, "whether a discriminatory course of conduct which has the effect of wholly excluding Negroes from an entire community" violates the Constitution. Should the Court accept this reasoning the effect would be a ruling barring discrimination by housing developers, a course of action similar to the Administration's proposed fair housing law.

Supreme Court prophesy is always risky, but recent decisions, such as the ruling last Spring upholding California's fair housing law, despite a popular vote to abolish it, indicate that the Court is ready to take the lead on housing discrimination, apropos of 1954 when the Court initiated the struggle against school segregation.

JOHN GALLOWAY

(Mr. Galloway is a member of the faculty at Manhattanville College, Purchase, N.Y.)



McCARTHY IN CHICAGO

READY, WILLING AND ABLE

In September, former ADA chairman Joseph L. Rauh, a major figure in Washington, D.C.'s Democratic Party, circulated a memorandum to leading liberals insisting that "no responsible Democrat will associate himself with an effort to unseat the incumbent President." Less than three months later, Rauh has joined the fast-growing movement behind the anti-Johnson presidential candidacy of Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy.

The hard core of the anti-Johnson Democrats met in Chicago over the Dec. 2-3 weekend. The place, symbolically, was the historic Sheraton-Blackstone Hotel—traditionally known as "Mayor Daley's hotel," and the site of many Cook County machine affairs (a dinner for Rep. Roman Pucinski, a Daley stalwart, was in progress as the meeting opened). And it was in this hotel that Republican Party leaders emerged from the famous "smoke-filled room" in 1920 to break the deadlock of that year's convention and nominate Warren G. Harding for President.

The Dec. 2-3 occasion was the national Conference of Concerned Democrats, an ad hoc grouping of liberal party leaders from 42 states pledged to work for an "open Democratic convention" in 1968. Over 500 party and public officials, leaders, workers, and contributors attended the hastily-called meeting; the planners had expected 200. The gathering was designed initially as a strategy session to chart the course of the anti-Johnson movement. But with McCarthy's announcement the previous Thursday that he would "challenge the President's position in primaries," the conference was quickly converted into a McCarthy-for-President affair.

Those in attendance represented a wide spectrum of Democratic liberals. There was former Oregon State Chairman Howard Morgan, and New York City Councilman Ted Weiss; Stanford theologian Robert McAfee Brown and Mrs. David Hoeh, chairman of the New Hampshire 2nd Congressional District Democratic Party. Robert Clark, Mississippi's first black state legislator

since Reconstruction, sat next to Jack Irwin Warner of Hollywood.

The organizers of the meeting were a handful of dedicated younger liberal Democrats. The main leg-work in some 20 states was done by Curtis Gans, a 29-year-old former North Carolinian who quit the ADA staff in Washington over the dump-Johnson issue. Gans, who serves as the National Coordinator for the Conference of Concerned Democrats, and his attractive wife Genie worked 24 hours a day to pull off the affair. Harold M. Ickes, 28, son of FDR's Secretary of Interior, dropped out of law school to become New York coordinator, and later conference coordinator, for the operation.

There are three co-chairmen of the conference: Gerald Hill, San Francisco lawyer and president of the 35,000-member California Democratic Council, who headed one of the largest delegations to the meeting; Donald O. Peterson, chairman of the Democratic Party in Wisconsin's 10th Congressional District, and the first major party official in the country to announce opposition to the President's renomination; and Allard K. Lowenstein, 38, New York attorney, once a foreign policy advisor to then-Senator Hubert Humphrey, sometime professor of law and politics, and a national vice-chairman of ADA. Lowenstein, a charismatic figure whose lightning-quick, off-the-cuff oratory has won him accolades as the best liberal speaker in the country, has been tireless in his cross-country campaign to challenge Lyndon Johnson's war policies within his own party.

Keynoting the convention was California Rep. Don Edwards. A former ADA chairman, the third-term congressman delivered a stinging, across-the-board attack on Administration foreign policy, blaming the loss of 47 Congressional liberals in 1966 on "a sharp turn to the right in foreign policy by Johnson which vitiated vital domestic programs. "The wicked war in Vietnam," declared Edwards, is ". . . only a symptom of a sick and misguided view of our role in the world. Unless a new direction is taken, there will be other Vietnams . . . We are here to end the division in the Democratic Party by ending this war."

But from the moment he arrived, the conference was clearly McCarthy's. The tall, graying 51-year-old Minnesotan fielded questions in a two-hour closed door plenary session on Saturday afternoon while preparations for the evening rally went on. Then came his address to the cheering, sign-waving, overflow crowd of 4,000 that jammed the main ballroom in the Conrad Hilton hotel (and to 3,000 that listened by loudspeaker on the floor below). It was a typical McCarthy speech. Written by the Senator himself, it had a literary quality reminiscent of Adlai Stevenson's addresses.

McCarthy echoed Rep. Edwards' theme: he recalled that the country, through Stevenson's language, "was purified and given direction . . . He was heard by many but not followed, until under the presidency of John F.

Kennedy his ideas were revived in a new language and in a new spirit. To the clear sound of the horn was added the beat of a steady and certain drum. . . . But what is the mood of America today? It is joyless spirit—a mood of frustration, of anxiety, of uncertainty." He went on to give a point-by-point indictment of the war in Vietnam. The speech was interrupted 18 times by applause—and when McCarthy declared that "the war in Vietnam is no longer morally defensible" he got a two-minute standing ovation.

But the most significant moment in the speech came when McCarthy noted the need for alternative leadership in the White House: "I will be your candidate for the presidency of the United States," he declared. The statement represented a significant shift in McCarthy's position. Until then, the Senator had said only that he would challenge the President in primaries. But in his meetings that day in many state caucuses at the conference, McCarthy was pressed again and again to give assurances that he would go "all the way" to the Convention. McCarthy has made that decision—and it was underscored by his announcement later that evening that he will enter the Massachusetts primary.

A hostile press has pictured McCarthy as indecisive, as a gadfly whose challenge is not a serious one. Many self-appointed pundits have seen this effort as a subtle strategy to win the nomination for the reluctant candidate—Senator Robert F. Kennedy. McCarthy made it clear in Chicago, however, that he is his own man: and he is going to Massachusetts, a Kennedy fief, to prove it.

Some have criticized McCarthy's style as a speaker; others point to his lack of a defined alternative in Vietnam, and to his silence up to now on domestic issues. McCarthy faces real problems: he has at this writing no campaign staff, no campaign manager, no immediate funds. His biggest need is for the professionalization of his campaign. Congressman Edwards is slated to become national chairman of the campaign; Michigan's recently-resigned state Democratic Chairman, Zoltan Ferency, has been mentioned as a possible manager for McCarthy.

The Conference of Concerned Democrats will continue as a coordinating committee with the respective groups in the states determining their own form of organization. Some groups, such as those in California and Massachusetts, will become McCarthy-for-President committees. Others, in New York and Michigan for example, will continue as Concerned Democrats—since tactics in those states may dictate an attempt to win uncommitted delegates rather than delegates pledged to McCarthy.

CBS reporter Mike Wallace has called Eugene McCarthy's crusade "a David and Goliath contest." Says Al Lowenstein: "Who the hell do you think won that one?"

DOUGLAS IRELAND

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RESISTANCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Herbert Marcuse: theorist of the new radicals

DANIEL CALLAHAN



There is every indication that if the Vietnam war continues, "resistance" and "direct action" opposition will become the standard mode of radical dissent, whether effective or not. As it turns out, the most commonly espoused theories of "resistance" appear politically foolhardy. They take their stand on the right of the individual to follow his conscience, whatever the personal costs and legal consequences. Their thrust is moral, not political. They say what ethical course is open to the sensitive mind, not what is likely to change the course of political events.

Their moral nobility, unfortunately, is their political liability. A refusal to pay taxes, the blocking of recruitment booths, the pouring of blood into draft files and a quasi-peaceful storming of the Pentagon may not be utterly hopeless as gestures designed in part to change public opinion, and thus policy. It is only when that is their specific intent that the political foolhardiness appears. For in the rhetorical arena, where the meaning of gestures must be debated before policy will be swayed, resisters hardly stand a chance. Against them is a long American tradition which grants only moral rights to resisters, not political equality. Those who break the law cannot expect the protection of the law (other than due process) in exercising their moral rights. Their last recourse is an *ex post facto* vindication in the higher courts. When such vindication is not forthcoming, the resister is left with only his conscience and his gesture. If he accepts peacefully his legal punishment, his action may help perpetuate the system which finds him out of order.

There are other obstacles as well to the political use of resistance. The working assumption of our political

system is that the rights granted to one person must sooner or later be granted to others. To concede resisters the right to shout down unpalatable speakers or to physically impede unwelcome policies is, logically, to concede the same right to Fascists; ergo, the tradition concludes, neither should be conceded this right—the result would be chaos. Ours is a tit-for-tat political order: nothing should be given Rap Brown which could not be given to the Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan.

Political objections to resistance cannot effectively be answered with moral rejoinders. When that is tried, both sides win, but each on its own grounds. The political side, drawing upon J. S. Mill and the American tradition, wins the political argument every time by placing the burden of proof upon the resister. Apart from the reading of tea leaves, it is impossible for the resister to prove that a more patient, conventional kind of political campaign will inevitably fail to change policy; there are, periodically, such things as elections, just as there are legitimate and often effective means of dissent. Nor can the resister prove that his tactics will not destroy the whole social and political order, thus endangering in the long run everyone's rights. As long as one stays within the context of the American system, then, the political objections to resistance are overwhelming—and almost always rhetorically victorious against the complaints of resisters.

But this is not to say that the moral arguments cannot also win. For this same system grants, in its interstices, the right of following one's conscience (even if it stipulates conditions for doing so, one of which is punishment for infractions of the law). It is perfectly respectable, in principle, to take one's stand on conscience; people do it all the time and are frequently accorded some respect, even by their jailers. Moral victories are possible. But

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moral victories, once again, are not the same as political victories.

If both sides on their own grounds can win, we are back at some kind of starting point. Where do we start? We start in the instance of conscientious resistance with an overwhelming fact: it is the government, duly elected and tolerated by the majority, which has the power and the guns. Resistance cannot be politically successful as long as that government remains in power. Some people may have their thinking changed by the moral spectacle of resistance, but very few are likely to go into the streets. The late and oft-losing Yale football coach Herman Hickman prescribed the right formula for handling disgruntled alumni; they should be kept "sullen but not mutinous." This is the formula also used by the present as well as past Administrations. If it doesn't work with ghetto Negroes and frustrated students, it works for almost everyone else.

There are of course many senses of the word "resistance." What images are evoked by the phrases "French resistance" or "underground resistance"? At one level, they incite noble memories: outgunned partisan fighters working to overthrow a barbaric, despotic invader; or Algerian freedom fighters trying to throw off the colonialist yoke. Yet behind these images, at another level, lie a few unpleasant realities: instant death to those who betrayed the resistance; rigid, unbending, merciless discipline for those who fought in its ranks; postwar kangaroo courts and execution for those who failed to lend support. If "resistance" movements of that kind—highly successful—have anything to tell us, they say that resisters must be as tough, ruthless and hard as the entrenched power. Gamble on Gandhi's strategy for success if your non-violent conscience so dictates. But if you want to increase your chances of *winning*, do as the French did against the Germans and as the Algerians did against the French.

Non-violent resistance may, and only may, work if the overwhelming mass of the people support both the purpose and techniques of the resistance and the government is apt to be swayed by such resistance. Violent resistance requires the same conditions but in addition demands ruthlessness within the ranks of the resisters. As it happens, the situation in the United States appears inimical to both kinds of resistance. Neither appears likely to win the support of most of the people, leaving both high and dry. Non-violent groups are doomed to irrelevance because the government is large enough and secure enough to humor them (using an occasional rifle butt to make its own symbolic gesture). Violent groups are doomed to extinction because the government can stamp them out with comparatively little trouble.

At this point we meet the central dilemma. If one's resistance is morally justified, and if the issues at stake are sufficiently important (e.g., the future lives of millions of Vietnamese or the welfare of thousands of poor Ne-

groes), then one can't afford to lose. A personal moral victory is not enough; only the tangible, political kind will do the sufferers any good. But if this is so, some unhappy implications press in. One may have to (1) choose between the existing political order and the welfare of those who need help; or (2) choose between the rules of the democratic political order and the rules of a higher moral order.

The trouble with most non-violent resisters in this country is that they don't want to make the first choice (for they don't necessarily want the *whole* system to collapse); but they do want to be free to make the second (with the rule temporarily suspended to meet emergency moral situations). Since a taking of the second course leaves a resister wide open to the tit-for-tat argument, and thus fumbling around for an elusive political retort, it is easy to understand why the romance of violent resistance should be in the air, faintly so with exasperated white critics of the war and strongly so with Black critics of a honky society.

The non-violent resisters are saying that some *parts* of the political system are corrupt. The incipient violent resisters are saying that the *whole* system is corrupt. For the former, resistance is a mode of piecemeal political reform; for the latter, a mode of wholesale revolution. And there is no doubt that violent revolution would do away with the dilemma posed by intangible, non-negotiable moral victories.

When we think of "revolution" we normally think of the exchange of one political system for another, the kind of events associated with the American, French and Russian revolutions. Revolutions of that standard variety make sense, whether we like them or not. But let us imagine a more complicated confrontation. Those who want a revolution in the United States do not want to exchange one whole, coherent system for another (Russian, say, for American) but want instead to exchange an ineffective system for a better one, all the while retaining many key values of the old system. They want free speech, but the kind that actually works for unpopular positions. They want a free press, but the kind that actually favors valuable minority values. They want freedom of conscience, but the kind that makes a public as well as private difference. With criteria like these in mind, it is possible to see why most traditional theories of democratic, pluralistic societies seem hopelessly anachronistic. To a younger generation tired of pragmatic, accommodating, brokerage politics, but enamored still with freedom, justice and self-determination, a fresh theory of the tolerant society is needed.

Perhaps the most intriguing, and also one of the most influential of such theories is that offered by Herbert Marcuse. Marcuse is hardly an underground figure. His *Eros and Civilization*, published in 1955, established his reputation as a major philosopher of culture. His aim in that book was to go beyond Freud's rigid coupling of

civilization and repression. A “non-repressive civilization,” he argued, is psychologically and politically possible once we recognize that Freud’s “reality principle” is not a piece of permanent psychological data, biologically fixed, but is instead historically conditioned. If civilization can do away with “surplus repression,” that unnecessary repression which arises from an inequitable economic order; and do away with the “performance principle,” which casts man in the role of an aggressively rational, achieving, dominating creature, then a “non-repressive civilization” could become a reality. In the mid-50s, though, the moment was not quite ripe for this kind of vision, nor was the intricate, academic style of *Eros and Civilization* suitable for pamphleteering.

One-Dimensional Man (1964) came at a better moment and with a more accessible argument. It had going for it two important developments: the hippies’ flight from the pragmatic, organizational man of the ’50s and early ’60s—from the “performance principle,” to use Marcuse’s term; and the accumulating frustrations of the new student radicalism, which found the slow, erratic business of social reform in American democracy beyond endurance. A critical question for the latter group was why, in practice, free speech in favor of obviously valuable human goods seems to make so little difference.

Marcuse supplied an answer in *One-Dimensional Man*. The dominating reality is the technological octopus of our advanced industrial society, conditioning our social,

academic and political institutions. “In this society,” Marcuse wrote, “the productive apparatus tends to become totalitarian to the extent to which it determines not only the socially needed occupations, skills and attitudes, but also individual needs and aspirations. It thus obliterates the opposition between the private and public existence, between individual and social needs. Technology serves to institute new, more effective, and more pleasant forms of social control and social cohesion.” The result is a “one-dimensional man” whose thought, behavior and political practice move in a rigidly pre-defined conceptual and behavioral world. Against this reality, rational protest is helpless. Language loses its power to liberate, the proletariat is bought off with hard goods and soft pleasures, and all transcendent, oppositional visions are smoothly defused and integrated into the established technological frame.

Under these conditions, free speech and tolerance become instruments of oppression. That is the specific thesis of “Repressive Tolerance,” Marcuse’s essay in *A Critique of Pure Tolerance* (1965). John Stuart Mill’s contention that any change in social structure and values must only come about after discussion and testing in the open and free marketplace of ideas makes sense only if the participants in the discussion are rationally independent, free from indoctrination and manipulation. That rational freedom does not exist in our society. Mill’s construct “badly fits a society in which powers are and

John Stuart Mill on ‘Intemperate Discussion’

(from Mill’s essay ‘On Liberty’)

With regard to what is commonly meant by intemperate discussion, namely invective, sarcasm, personality, and the like, the denunciation of these weapons would deserve more sympathy if it were ever proposed to interdict them equally to both sides; but it is only desired to restrain the employment of them against the prevailing opinion: against the unprevailing they may not only be used without general disapproval, but will be likely to obtain for him who uses them the praise of honest zeal and righteous indignation. Yet whatever mischief arises from their use, is greatest when they are employed against the comparatively defenseless; and whatever unfair advantage can be derived by any opinion from this mode of asserting it, accrues almost exclusively to received opinions. The worst offense of this kind which can be committed by a polemic, is to stigmatize those who hold the contrary opinion as bad and immoral men. To calumny of this sort, those who hold any unpopular opinion are peculiarly exposed, because they are in

general few and uninfluential, and nobody but themselves feels much interest in seeing justice done them; but this weapon is, from the nature of the case, denied to those who attack a prevailing opinion: they can neither use it with safety to themselves, nor, if they could, would it do anything but recoil on their own cause. In general, opinions contrary to those commonly received can only obtain a hearing by studied moderation of language, and the most cautious avoidance of unnecessary offense, from which they hardly ever deviate even in a slight degree without losing ground: while unmeasured vituperation employed on the side of the prevailing opinion, really does deter people from professing contrary opinions, and from listening to those who profess them. For the interest, therefore, of truth and justice, it is far more important to restrain this employment of vituperative language than the other; and, for example, if it were necessary to choose, there would be much more need to discourage offensive attacks on infidelity, than on

religion. It is, however, obvious that law and authority have no business with restraining either, while opinion ought, in every instance, to determine its verdict by the circumstances of the individual case; condemning everyone, on whichever side of the argument he places himself, in whose mode of advocacy either want of candor, or malignity, bigotry, or intolerance of feeling manifest themselves; but not inferring these vices from the side which a person takes, though it be the contrary side of the question to our own: and giving merited honor to everyone, whatever opinion he may hold, who has calmness to see and honesty to state what his opponents and their opinions really are, exaggerating nothing to their discredit, keeping nothing back which tells, or can be supposed to tell, in their favor. This is the real morality of public discussion; and if often violated, I am happy to think that there are many controversialists who to a great extent observe it, and a still greater number who conscientiously strive towards it.

remain unequal. . . . It fits even worse when the variety of pressures unifies and coagulates into an overwhelming whole. . . . Those minorities which strive for a change in the whole itself will . . . be left free to deliberate and discuss, to speak and to assemble—and will be left harmless and helpless in the face of the overwhelming majority, which militates against qualitative social change. This majority is firmly grounded in the increasing satisfaction of needs, and technological and mental coordination, which testify to the general helplessness of radical groups in a well-functioning social system.”

It is tempting to see Marcuse’s analysis as an inverted conspiracy theory, the majority subverting the minority. The whole system of technological society, peopled by an acquiescent, anesthetized majority, conspires against radical groups and ideas. The conspiracy is unwitting, but for that reason all the more insidious; it can sustain the self-righteous claims that radical groups are as free to promote their ideas as any other groups. Why not, since the system guarantees that radical ideas cannot make any real difference? As Marcuse puts it, “The liberating force of democracy was the chance it gave to effective dissent. . . . But with the concentration of economic and political power and the integration of opposites in a society which uses technology as an instrument of domination, effective dissent is blocked . . .” Unlike C. Wright Mills, Marcuse does not have to posit a power elite; the impersonal force of technology supplies the repressive domination.

Marcuse can draw only one conclusion from this perception. A restoration of genuine freedom, the freedom of mature individuals to make up their own undocrinated minds, would require a redressing of the scales: “the objective of tolerance would call for intolerance toward prevailing policies, attitudes, opinions, and the extension of tolerance to policies, attitudes and opinions which are outlawed or suppressed.” How is this redressing to be managed? Marcuse does not say in any detail beyond pointing out that “such a redressing seems to be tantamount to the establishment of a ‘right of resistance’ to the point of subversion.”

The power of Marcuse’s critique of “pure tolerance” rests on its utterly realistic appraisal of the actual prevailing conditions of tolerance. Its weakness lies in its totalitarian implications. Marcuse concedes that censorship and control would be needed to regain tolerance for ideas and policies at present unpopular. The price of tolerance for the right and the true is intolerance for the wrong and the false. (Catholics have heard this before: “error has no rights.”) In this respect Marcuse is an easy target for anyone operating out of the Mill tradition, which gives primacy to the formal ground rules of free discussion rather than to the untoward possibilities of misused or conditioned freedom. For Mill and his defenders this is one of the risks of the democratic game; the rules must be kept whoever temporarily wins. For

Marcuse the risk is unacceptable, at least at present, because we have solid evidence that the wrong side has won and will stay in power indefinitely; until, if necessary, it is forcibly resisted.

The appeal of Marcuse to the New Left, which notoriously stresses personal freedom and resists all authoritarian controls, is not as odd as it might seem. For one thing, it shares Marcuse’s view that genuine freedom does not now exist; hence there is no living practice of effective freedom which would be destroyed by a major social upheaval. For another, much of the New Left takes seriously the idea, quite old but out of fashion, that there is such a thing as truth, that right and wrong are meaningful ethical categories. Pragmatic, technological man, basking in his relativities and lack of absolutes, trumpeting the rights of free speech and the glories of democratic pluralism, turns out to be the real subversive. He subverts truth by granting equality to all viewpoints, good and bad. He is an accomplice to social evil because he would rather tolerate evil than change the rules of a game, rules which of course turn out to favor him because he happens to be part of the majority. To tolerate these rules is immoral. To subvert them is a moral obligation.

I won’t bother pointing to some of the flaws in this kind of reaction; they are not hard to find. It is more important to see that the Marcusean analysis and its New Left elaborators offer a theory of resistance which does not use the rights of conscience as its starting point. In fact, there is hardly any talk at all about such rights. The rights of truth and social justice are the important rights at stake.

What is beguiling about all this is that it seems to have found a way of combining morality and practical politics, just what theories of resistance giving primacy to conscience can’t easily manage. It offers an alternative to Niebuhrian political realism, on the one hand, and an alternative to noble but ineffective protests of conscience, on the other. In particular, it offers a way out of the dilemma which paralyzes ambiguity-ridden liberals: how can one affirm the value of freedom and yet at the same time do something effective to eradicate the evils of unjust wars and the outrageous treatment of racial and ideological minorities? A dialectic of spurious freedom, giving way in turn to a tolerance only for the right and the true, and issuing finally in a mature society where the majority can be trusted to use their freedom wisely seems to fill the bill.

But only “seems to,” I’m afraid. Certain acts of faith are required in any political system. One act of faith sustaining our system is that it is better to give people freedom, even if they use it stupidly, than to deny it to them for the sake of some higher “truth.” Nor is there any group, however wise and just, which should be given the right to take freedom from the majority on the promise that it will be returned later in a purified state. If man makes a mess of his freedom, including the creation of

a technological order which robs him of most of his real freedom, then so be it. Marcuse's act of faith goes in a contrary direction: the only freedom worth having is a freedom which issues in Truth, Beauty and Goodness. One can make a case for both faiths, but hardly so conclusive a case as to make either seem self-evident. It is an old debate and, in the end, there is nothing to do but leap one way or the other. When the question of resistance and civil disobedience comes up, most liberals still prefer to leap in the direction of "pure tolerance," trusting that the system is flexible enough, and human enough, to eventually right its wrongs.

But there is a limit to faith. If the fruits of faith in the long-range value of tolerance and democratic pluralism turn out to be increasingly sour for important minorities—the war dissenter, the Negro—that faith will die. Marcuse's counter-faith is waiting in the wings. His is one of the better alternatives. Of course if the present faith fails, there is no guarantee we would get to choose the better alternatives. We would probably get the worst.

Yet the vision of *Eros and Civilization* does not logically require the political consequences Marcuse draws in his later writings. For that matter, they seem incompatible. A sustained resistance would require extreme rationality, a spirit of domination (even if purportedly temporary), and a periodic repression by the resisters of their own drive to extend the scope of Eros. The great failing of technological man is his relentless drive to master human nature and matter; he is afraid to let go. *Eros and Civilization* is a study in how a whole civilization could, one day, let go. It would be a shame if that possibility could only be achieved by aping in the process the dominating aggressiveness it seeks to supplant. The only Kingdom worth having is one which begins now,

even if it requires that one play and laugh and love and dance and sing in the face of the solemnity of power. The insight of the hippies is the corrective to the temptation of violent resistance, which itself springs from a realistic insight.

Non-violent resistance is the *via media*. But I have already argued, have I not, that it cannot and will not work. Of what use is it, then? Its prime use is that it keeps alive the moral life of those who resist; that in itself is worth much in a society which presses everyone into a common mold. It is also useful in putting pressure on the dissenter who decides to continue following the rules of pure tolerance. His faith is that the way of legal, acceptable dissent can work. And perhaps it can; but only if the dissenter, as distinguished from the resister, can make it work. He has to prove it can, not once or twice in the past, but again and again. Finally, the resister keeps before the public eye the latent tension between truth and democratic procedure. Sometimes there is no tension; more often there is. In our society we have chosen to give primacy to procedure. It has been, until recently, an apparently reasonable choice, requiring that people hold in check their personal perception of truth and justice. Sometimes, though, this perception is overwhelming in its power. It demands expression, at the cost of a loss of integrity if stifled.

This moral option must be left open, however threatening. There can never be any solid guarantee that the morally correct course is the politically wise course; it may be unwise. But people have to live with themselves as well as with others. Non-violent resistance allows at least that possibility. It may not be much, and it may not be enough, but it is something. Not all ways of losing are equally worthless.

Bye-bye, baby

WOMEN IN A CONTRACEPTIVE CULTURE



PATRICIA KOVAL

Observing a conference from the press section doesn't give any particular perceptual advantage unless one happens to be a married woman with four children and the subject discussed involves birth control. Then it isn't much use pretending to objectivity, because you are already very much involved.

Certainly this was the case for me at the recent conference "The Changing Woman: The Impact of Family

Planning," held on the campus of the University of Notre Dame. With over 40 doctors, theologians, businessmen, educators, working women and housewives gathered in one room over a three-day period discussing what is happening to women in a "contraceptive culture," it would have taken a lobotomy to stay uninvolved.

Conferences on birth control are not particularly unusual anymore, but this one had the unique twist of including women—housewives, lawyers, doctors and secretaries—as actual participants. And what does this say about the eternal myopia of the male?

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Perhaps he isn't to be blamed. Woman has "known her place" for so many centuries, convinced of her biological inferiority (though not resigned to it), that it is little wonder man is nervous about how she will use her contraceptive-emancipated powers. On this occasion, he decided to ask.

"Whither goest thou, woman?" challenged Dr. Kermit Krantz, chairman of the Department of Gynecology and Obstetrics at the University of Kansas Medical Center. No one pretended to know the answer, each choosing instead to offer a fragment of enlightenment from his or her "little box of expertise," as one observer put it.

"For the first time in history women alone can control reproduction without men knowing anything about it at all," said Dr. Catherine Chilman, research director of the welfare administration of the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. With biological submission to the male a thing of the past, women are gingerly testing their new freedom to be as self-creative as men. They can be cheerful about it. One female professor matter-of-factly displayed a "Loop" she had attached to her lapel for her appearance at the conference. ("It doesn't do any good there," murmured a male conferee.)

Can women change the nature of a faulty society with careful use of their emancipation from the maternity ward? How will the traditional concepts of love between man and woman be affected? The specter of a grimly emancipated female, devoid of femininity, interested only in competing with men in the world of work, was dragged out more than once by worried conferees. A kind of doomsday expectation underscored the concern expressed about the future of man's image of his own virility. A break-up of the institution of marriage was envisioned by a few.

And yet the general atmosphere still seemed to be optimistic. Perhaps man's uneasiness over the course of the future is not because he faces a radically changed female sex, they told each other, but because there has never before been the historical impetus to find and know the true nature of women. Most importantly, what is the role of sexuality in this nature?

Dr. William H. Masters, director of the Reproductive Biology Research Foundation in St. Louis and co-author, with his assistant, Virginia E. Johnson, of *Human Sexual Response*, talked about the laboratory research they do on the sexual activity of men and women. Though women are far more responsive sexually than men, they pointed out, "The tragedy of our society is that Victoria had more influence here than in England."

Still hindered by the cultural traditions that have defined her role as passive and subordinate, woman has yet to realize the importance of sexuality as a dimension of the total personality. As a valuable aid to establishing identity, said Mrs. Johnson, "it will be a crucial factor in adapting to the transitions now taking place."

If this establishment of identity becomes truly possible,

will it clear the way for a more open, less guilt-ridden society? Will men and women find the genuine expression of "equality" in the experiencing of total relationships that encompass mind, body and spirit? It isn't impossible. "Biological energy can be replaced with spiritual energy," said Louis Dupré, professor of philosophy at Georgetown University. "The human creativity of love should be used in developing human relationships, not in making more people." But we carry such millstones around our necks: our lagging theology, limping values, our fear-based moralities—maybe we will have to face the irony of discovering the multiple dimensions of sexuality and then be unable to live with them.

Jacqueline Grennan, president of Webster College, struck close to a vital nerve when she spoke of deeper man-woman relationships producing the problem of "multiple encounters," as she put it. If the morality of the love relationship becomes internalized to the relationship, will the restricting influence of present moral and cultural values become irrelevant? The possibility that woman—that bastion of family security and moral values—will begin to lead a schizophrenic life, split between family and lover, is a definite possibility that men ignore or righteously condemn to their peril. Woman is becoming aware of herself as an independent person, a total person, often unable to find herself completely in her traditional wife-mother role.

What does she put in place of the old do's and don'ts that seem increasingly out of touch with the "contraceptive culture?" It isn't a question easily dismissed. Miss Grennan said flatly that coming to terms with the new dimensions of sexuality is the "most profound question facing the human race in the twentieth-century."

Perhaps the most important thing to come from the conference was the realization that, regardless of the past, the roles of women are not pre-determined—man remains the one species equipped to shape his own nature. We do not exist helplessly in a current; roles can be reshaped. What must be shrugged off are the stereotyped images that have grown up around both men and women, leaving them awkward and helpless in the face of cultural change.



CATHERINE MURRAY

A NEW POEM

Violet and new comes evening,
you turn to me, smiling.
I suddenly believe
that in the morning
you'll create the yellow sun:
its light will curl
like ribbons
through the trees.

RECORDS

Tchaikovsky, like Verdi, has been regarded with condescension for which one hears no justification in his music. To listen to the score of the ballet *The Sleeping Beauty* (best performed by Ansermet) is to hear, in piece after piece, the operation of not only an extraordinary gift for melody, but—in the way the canvas is filled in, so to speak, around the melody—extraordinary inventive power and taste in the use of the entire complex of musical line, color, texture and mass. It is also to hear this mastery of the medium serving expressive and imaginative powers of a high order; and these produce superb dramatic writing for orchestra and voices in the operas—for example in *The Queen of Spades*, of which a new Moscow Bolshoi Theater performance has been issued on Melodiya-Angel records. It is conducted effectively by Boris Khaikin, and offers good playing of the orchestral part; but the vocal writing for the two principal characters is made unattractive by the hard, straining tenor voice of Zurab Andzhaparidze and the tremulously shrill soprano voice of Tamara Milashkina. I suggest instead the 1942 Bolshoi performance on Ultraphone 141/3, which is sung well, and whose recorded sound, though without present-day spaciousness and richness, is clear and agreeable, even with its occasional slight high-frequency distortion.

One may want Deutsche Grammophon's new *Don Giovanni*, conducted by Böhm, for Fischer-Dieskau's expressive use of his remarkable voice in the title role, and the additional effective contributions of Ezio Flagello's Leporello, Alfredo Mariotti's Masetto and Martii Talvela's Commendatore, but not for the Donna Anna of Birgit Nilsson, whose powerful voice is unattractive in timbre, the Donna Elvira of tremulous-voiced Martina Arroyo, the Zerlina of metallic-voiced Reri Grist, the Don Ottavio of Peter Schreier, whose voice is better suited to Wagner than to Mozart. The best performance of this opera with present-day recorded sound is still the one conducted by Giulini, with Wächter, Taddei, Alva, Sutherland, Schwarzkopf and Sciutti (the mono version, for its more clearly defined and solid bass and its freedom from high-frequency tracking distortion). And low-priced Philips World Series records now offer the 1955 performance with George London in the title role, Sena Jurinac's distinguished Elvira and Leopold Simoneau's ear-ravishing Ottavio.

Simoneau also is the Tamino in the 1955 *Magic Flute* reissued on low-priced Richmond records, with Wilma Lipp's superb Queen of the Night and Hilde Gueden's lovely Pamina.

Fischer-Dieskau is best known here as a singer of

German songs, in which he deploys his beautiful voice with a sensitiveness to the musical flow and shape, and to the meaning of the words, that produces the most distinguished and affecting performances of these pieces one can hear today. Two such performances of outstanding songs of Schubert, *Lied eines Fischers an die Dioskuren* and *Aus Heliopolis*, make low-priced Heliodor 25062—devoted to Schubert settings of texts on subjects of Greek antiquity—a record to acquire even though the other songs, with the exception of *An die Leier* and *Freiwilliges Versenken*, are not very interesting.

Another record to acquire is the low-priced Odyssey with a number of Monteverdi madrigals, including the six of *Lagrime d'Amante al Sepolcro d'Amata*, beautifully sung by the New York Pro Musica.

As for instrumental music, one of Vanguard's medium-priced Cardinal records has an excellent performance by the new Yale Quartet of Beethoven's Quartet Op. 132, whose expansively elaborating variation movement is perhaps the most overwhelming embodiment of the super earthly exaltation that is communicated in the slow movements of Beethoven's last works.

Mozart's lovely Violin Concerto K.219 is performed well by Henryk Szering with the New Philharmonia under Alexander Gibson on a Philips record that has also the less interesting Concerto K.217a.

The young pianist Christoph Eschenbach, who operated so impressively in a performance of Schubert's *Trout* Quintet with the Koechert Quartet last year, is impressive again in performances of Mozart's Sonatas K.332 and 333, on a Deutsche Grammophon record, that articulate the music with suitable delicacy and sensitiveness, but also with strength and cohesive tension. But in the first movement of Beethoven's Concerto No. 1, after an orchestral introduction marked *Allegro con brio* which von Karajan perversely conducts *Allegro tranquillo*, Eschenbach has to follow suit by playing with the delicacy that is right for Mozart but not for Beethoven; and I suggest instead Glenn Gould's excitingly dynamic performance.

An album of four low-priced Victrola records has the newly edited Toscanini-NBC Symphony performances of Brahms's four symphonies, Variations on a Theme of Haydn and *Tragic* and *Academic Festival* Overtures. The performance of the Third Symphony is not Toscanini's best: by 1952, when it was recorded, the increased breadth and weight it had acquired in the course of time had reached the point of ponderous slowness and lack of forward propulsion in the first movement and comparably lessened animation in the third and fourth. But one cannot imagine the other symphonies paced, articulated and shaped more effectively; and the performance of the Haydn Variations—particularly the dazzling Variation 5—is one of those the NBC men still talk about. The recorded sound is excellent, requiring only reduction of treble to cancel the editor's boost.

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Another Toscanini performance his musicians recall is one of Tchaikovsky's *Pathétique*: it was a revelation to them to hear the fine work as Tchaikovsky had imagined and written it, after hearing it for years as conductors had distorted it. Unfortunately the Victrola record produces it for the most part with the airless, lusterless—though clear and agreeable—sound which the supervisor of the recording session gave it with his draperies over the boxes and parquet of Carnegie Hall (one can brighten it with additional treble); moreover, the sound of the first part of the last movement is murky and unclear; and though the rest of the movement is clear and clean, it needs additional bass. And throughout there are the switches of the original 78-rpm records and other noises. All this is additional reason for Victor to issue the marvelous performance Toscanini recorded with the Philadelphia Orchestra.

B. H. HAGGIN

LOV'D NOT WISELY

THE SCREEN

There's a parcel of foreign films on our screens now, none of which am I too enthusiastic about, but I'd better get in a few words about them before the year-end rush swamps my schedule. From France comes "This Special Friendship," but too late—not only because Jean Delannoy made this picture three or four years ago, but also because its subject matter, homosexuality (in a strict Catholic boys' school), is presented somewhat naively and in an old-fashioned, out-dated manner for today. Director Delannoy, who has handled films with religious themes expertly in "Symphonie Pastorale" and "God Needs Men," avoids sensationalism in "This Special Friendship" and treats the problem with sensitivity. But the priests in charge seem baffled by the whole situation and have little to offer the boys beyond pious clichés about purity. When one priest (beautifully played by Louis Seigner with sympathy and firmness) makes 16ish George and 12ish Alexander end their special friendship, the world falls apart for the two boys; and it's hard to tell when the picture ends in tragedy if it means to defend these friendships or what. Well acted, handsomely photographed in black and white, "This Special Friendship" held my interest, but I fail to see why it created such a controversy between François Mauriac and Roger Peyrefitte (who wrote the novel on which the film is based) and got all literary Paris into a row.

From Sweden, and first shown here at the last New York Film Festival, comes another old-fashioned movie, but no doubt director-scriptwriter-editor Bo Widerberg meant "Elvira Madigan" to be old-fashioned. Its story, set in 1889 Sweden and Denmark, is about a pair of young

lovers who poetically moon and love their way through some of the most beautiful color photography ever shown on the screen. Good-looking Thommy Berggren and lovely Pia Degermark in pretty nineteenth-century costumes are the ultimate in lyrical romanticism as they picnic, dance, romp, and make love in the pleasant countryside under the sunny summer Scandinavian skies. Their story, however, which is based on fact, is something else again. The girl is a circus tightrope dancer and her lover is a lieutenant-count who has run away from his wife and children as well as the army. They seem to give no thought to tomorrow; when their money runs out he, a wanted army-deserter, cannot get a job; when the summer runs out, as summers do, there are no more fruits and berries for the taking; and the idyll runs out too. The empty-headed grasshoppers had a fine time. But with the winter came the snows, and only the prosaic, hard-working ants had their warm hills to go to.

Also from Sweden comes "Guilt," another movie, not old-fashioned however, about another pair of unmarried lovers, and probably one of the most unpleasant movies ever made. Most of it takes place in an automobile as the man and woman drive, argue, and bicker on and on. The automobile scene is broken from time to time by flashbacks—showing the couple at auto races or on the Stockholm streets or in the inevitable Swedish bedroom scene but a little franker in its complete nudity. Finally, after the film is half over, we learn what this scrapping couple feels so guilty about. Many miles back the man, who is driving, ran over and killed a man in the road. Now this bully is trying to put the blame on the woman. Although "Guilt" has some stunning black-and-white photography of the snowy country around Stockholm and the performances of Sven Bertil Taube and Helena Brodin are no doubt what director-scriptwriter Lars Gorling had in mind, I'm not too sure what else the film had in mind, unless it is to say that this man and this woman were already so smothered in guilt that it took a real shocker like the hit-and-run affair to make them see themselves as they are. It would have saved us a lot of woe if the woman had smacked the man in the face and walked out on him before they ever started this fiendish trip.

If something more fanciful and less grim is up your alley, you may go for "More Than a Miracle"—although I doubt it. This strange Franco-Italian picture, labeled an adult fairy tale, was produced by Carlo Ponti, directed by Francesco Rosi, and stars Omar Sharif as the prince in this sixteenth-century tale, Sophia Loren as the peasant girl who gets him by winning a dishwashing contest, Dolores Del Rio as the Prince's mother who wishes to goodness he'd get married, George Wilson as the chef who's sort of a villain, and Leslie French as Joseph of Cupertino. How this good cast could have failed and made such a mish-mash is hard to explain—especially with St. Jo-

seph in the picture. The only answer is that the four scriptwriters probably never got together and made it clear to each other what each was doing. The picture has some very amusing scenes, but its mixture of fairy tale, religious humor, realism, and off-beat characterization never jells. The people, costumes, sets and color photography are fine. What "More Than a Miracle" needed, however, was some thought by *one person in charge*—perhaps Sophia's fairy godmother, who hatches a thousand eggs in the film's best scene.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG



CHARLES L. REGAN

THE KING'S CHAPEL DEAD

Utterly this maze of long-interred resent
The western foreigners who rub their stones.
Here Mary Chilton sleeps, who knew
The violation only of the skull of time,
And lies in dignity among
The bones of those who knew not how to weep.

While on the lids of tombs erased by earth
Some city pundit seeds obscene remarks
Of vegetation, garbage tall,
Dear Lady Andros scorns to feed
Her dust to strangers, and the scum
That once was Winslow sneers
And lords in it the brick bestowed by God.

But in the wiser vaults beneath
The church, here ordinance demands
The anonymity of all reproof.
No verger cites their names; no marble gloss
Holds sacred now their legends.
Legends keep.

MOTHER MARY ANTHONY, S.H.C.J.

ROUTE

What those clouds on the wrong side of the sunset
are looking at makes them radiant, breathless
and soon overcome. Then from the uncut grass,
until just now listless as death, spring intermittent
sparks that wink out in a twinkling as if they could
not bear some brightness either, like a poor paraffin
candle paling as soon as day is come. To guess what
seems to be extinguished here, or differently enkindled
in the dark, asks of the secret ways of dying clearer
signs (and wonders) than can ever mark a road
hardly the same for any two straight for the long stride,
but foreshortened, skew,

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stories, by pointing out that it is a phenomenon which transcends the realm of literature and is an essential constituent of our apprehension of reality. We are surrounded by "stories" until the day we die. Other people are not merely the momentary surfaces we see, but also what they and others narrate of themselves, and this can be as true of places and objects.

The impact of the American novel is also examined in some detail. European literature, M. Peyre affirms, though unequaled in self-conscious delineating of moods of frustration and repression, in searching exploration of the recesses of the ego, is aware it lacks vigor. After Proust, French novelists had to break away from an introspection that was becoming static and artificial, so they substituted a synthetic perception of human nature—man in action—for analytical dissection.

A certain raw energy which they found in Hemingway, Faulkner or Dos Passos was the perfect nourishment for the new appetite, confirmed by the experiences of the war years, when an atmosphere of brutal violence stepped straight out of the pages of books into everyday reality, and the disruption of the social order was echoed in the disregard for composition.

It has been argued that the retreat into the interiority of a dissolved individual existence, which in part characterizes the anti-novel, is the result of a turning-away from the political in a world which has made individual endeavor seem singularly pointless and ineffectual, and in which a larger and more human vision seems inflated and out-of-date. M. Peyre does not think so. "The faith of the French in the future of their growing population," he writes, "of their rebuilt cities, of their decentralized cultural life, is probably more ardent than it has been since the Consulate, or at least since the Second Empire." The *malaise* goes deeper: it lies in that very self-assurance and economic contentment which has of itself killed off a number of sacred causes; and the novel, which is not an apt vehicle for prosperity and complacency, takes refuge, when it can no longer crusade, in irony and detachment.

One last point. Another enlargement

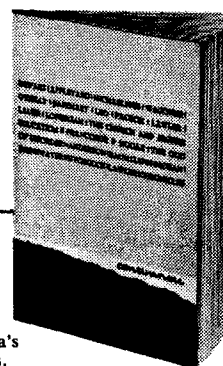
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of sensibility has taken place in the French novel, as important in its way as the multiplication of technical devices and phenomenological carving-up of reality: the absorption of mentalities from outside the hexagon into the mainstream of French literature. It is hard to say how permanent this is likely to prove, once the native languages of France's former colonial possessions (Arabic, Vietnamese) begin to re-assert themselves and claim their own intellectuals back again. But in the meanwhile the novels of Algeria, Tunisia, the Antilles and Indochina have been priceless indices of the ways of thinking of newly liberated peoples, and French retains its value, along with English in West Africa and the West Indies, as the vehicle both of emancipation and the desire for it. It will be interesting to see, a decade from now, if M. Peyre is compelled to give a larger role to these "overseas Frenchmen," when he brings this quite indispensable survey up to date once more.

The Confessions of Nat Turner

WILLIAM STYRON

Random House, \$6.95

MARTIN TUCKER

Every novel William Styron has written begins with premises of intellectual provocation. His search however for an ending—and a meaning to the helpless and urgent dilemma of choice facing his characters—brings him to the center—shelter might be a better word—of a personal understanding, a rational salvation through acceptance of one's limitations. Such a center, in Styron's case at least, shuts out the outside world, the people with whose problems he began his novel and his own intellectual journey; it gets rid of the threat of their demands while preserving the necessary pain of Styron's sensitive people.

His fourth novel is concerned with the only recorded revolt led by Negroes in the United States, an uprising in Virginia that lasted a few days in the summer of 1831 and resulted in the death of 55 whites and several Negroes. Styron's novel is not, in his own words, a his-

torical novel; it is a meditation on history." It is clearly Styron's way of expressing the modern dilemma facing the white intellectual caught between sympathy for the black people in the wrongs done them and dislike for the violence that seems inevitably encroaching on their demands. In the actual revolt led by Nat Turner, a number of "good" white people were killed. Nat's rationale of the slaughter of the innocents (he does not, to his credit, rationalize it into an innocence of slaughter) is tied to history: the Negro slaves need their freedom, and some people must be sacrificed along the way. Otherwise all history will be paralyzed by Christian morality and hypocrisy.

Nat is a preacher himself; a rare Negro slave, he can read and write; is a master carpenter; and leads church services among the slaves on his and neighboring masters' farms. Although he has known pain, he does not hate and does not counsel violence until the rollcall of wrongs is too voluminous to avoid hearing. Even in his hate and in his love Nat is tortured by a paralysis: the closest he comes to hate is toward his master, Samuel Turner, who promised him freedom after teaching him to read and write; who arranged (or thought he had arranged) for Nat to be free at 21 after serving an apprenticeship in carpentry; and who, because of his own poverty and genteel ignorance sold Nat to a preacher (a drunken pederast) who sold Nat again for profit. It is Turner—the good white who promised Nat more than he could give—who earns Nat's hate. As Styron shows, we hate that which we are shown we deserve but cannot have.

Perhaps in his love Nat is most paralyzed: twice Nat has loved; once briefly and casually in time, but deeply in consequence and memory; the other never openly but always growing until death is the only surcease. The first was with a 15-year-old boy; soon after their love frolic in the meadows, Nat baptizes himself and the boy and forswears all partaking of the flesh. Shortly after this "confession" to God, Nat is the agent whereby the boy is transported for sale to a new and tyrannical master. In his

second and more immense love, Nat is also the agent of destruction. Nat's last years before the uprising—he is only 31 when he leads it—are spent in relative comfort. He is admired for his learning and his skill at carpentry; he is the pampered product who is hired out like a good stock horse for a handsome profit.

During these years Nat decides he must commit himself to revolution: having discovered that "good" people in their kindness have restrained the freedom of black people. Symbolically, he is fated to kill the one woman he has ever loved. Margaret Whitehead, a young, white virgin, has to die at Nat's hands so Nat can be freed from the paralysis of pity. She is a representative white victim because her gentility and kindness keep the blacks from open revolt, and because her golden hair and white pale face envelop her society in whiteness everywhere. She can only lead Nat to the dream of eternity after he has killed her and is ready to be hanged himself. She can only be Nat's Beatrice after he has sent her to heaven.

Styron's fascination with violence and paralysis is at least as old as his first novel, *Lie Down in Darkness*. His characters seem to need to commit themselves to an act, an existence that will deny their sense of meaninglessness. Even if the act is doomed to immediate failure, its consequences have a place in history. Styron's "act" in his last two novels is murder. In *Set This House on Fire* he presented a man who came to grips with himself through murdering his friend-enemy. That novel was less concerned with the social surface, it was more an awareness of an intellectual's triumph to peace of mind. In *The Confessions of Nat Turner* he has moved into a much more explosive and social turbulence, but the overriding emphasis is still on the personal resolution of an intellectual caught in the dilemma between hopeless action and helpless despair.

Certainly Styron's novel is beautiful and compassionate in capturing this mood of paralysis. Styron's stylistic ability to capture urgency and intensity is as appealing as Faulkner's. But his reso-

lution is something else. In *Set This House on Fire*, murder as a way out, as a personal solution, seemed contrived and over-indulgent. In *The Confessions of Nat Turner*, revolution has a more integral part in the dilemma; after all, it did happen in history in a valley in the relatively liberal state of Virginia. But Styron's novel is, as he says, less history than meditation on history, and Nat Turner seems curiously a rootless, paralytic white intellectual. Indeed what Styron seems to be showing as Nat recounts his life and his revolution (the novel is told in the first person as if it were a journal) is that even Nat cannot be sure his act was right. All Nat can do is to tell *why* (in an attempt to *know why*) he did what he did. There are no easy answers, of course, but Styron's novel seems less than a commitment to any conclusion. Indeed his beautifully written last chapter, describing Nat's desire to join his white lover Margaret in heaven, seems an evasion of the whole turbulence he has been attempting to encompass.

The big question Styron's novel produces for me is whether compassion is any longer enough for a modern novel. Certainly compassion and beauty of style and structure fill every page in this carefully-wrought story, but is compassion enough?

The Symbolism of Evil

PAUL RICOEUR

Harper & Row, \$8.50

SR. MARY A. SCHALDENBRAND

In *The Symbolism of Evil*, Ricoeur re-enacts imaginatively the religious confession of fault. That is, he reconstructs the experience of fault by deciphering its linguistic expressions: the symbols and myths of evil. Thereby he hopes to surprise in the act, so to speak, the moment of transition between a merely possible fault and an actual fault.

Not that Ricoeur confuses symbolic and mythical expressions of fault with a philosophy of fault. Symbols, unlike transparent technical signs, are opaque; they refer analogically to further mean-

ings which their literal meanings merely suggest or evoke. Myths, as complicating symbols by narration, are doubly suspect as philosophic currency. And yet, being nonetheless expressions of meaning, symbols and myths invite transposition into philosophic discourse. For, as Ricoeur likes to say: "The symbol gives rise to thought."

The transposition of these expressions into philosophic discourse has not yet been accomplished, however. According to Ricoeur, "this final achievement will occupy a third volume." *The Symbolism of Evil* thus points ahead to a future work. At the same time, it points back to an earlier one, *Fallible Man* (Regnery, 1965), which establishes, through an analysis of human reality as non-coincident with itself, the possibility of that fault whose actuality symbols and myths indirectly express. Thus, *The Symbolism of Evil*, though capable of standing by itself, plays a mediating role in the larger project of a philosophical anthropology which aims to understand the human situation from the vantage-point of fault and evil.

Precisely as intermediary, this work suggests a fundamental characteristic of Ricoeur's method: namely, insistence on mediation. What his philosophic reflection intends, finally, is the self's concrete truth, the truth of living experience. But experience, despite its lifelike appearance, is never immediate. It expresses itself only indirectly in the language of primary symbolisms which, as elaborated or rationalized, assume the more complex forms of myth and speculation. To recover the truth of living experience therefore requires that we make the long detour of exegeting these various languages.

Paradoxically, this long detour is the



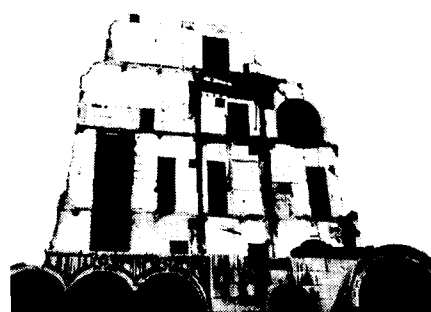
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THIS BABEL & BEYOND



HISTORY DOES NOT REVERSE ITSELF

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way out of our present impasse. For, admittedly, there is no renouncing our task of a thoroughgoing secularization, our planetary enterprise of mastering nature and building the City of Man. And yet, as its reverse side, the new pragmatism comports a certain forgetfulness: in Ricoeur's words, "forgetfulness of the signs of the sacred, loss of man himself insofar as he belongs to the sacred." We live, indeed, in the time of God's death or, at least, of his silence, his eclipse. Hence our modern predicament: Lords of the world, how shall we be called again? Absorbed in

our power to choose, how shall we be chosen?

Our situation would be hopeless if ours were only a time of forgetfulness and not also a time of restoration. For, assuredly, the "gift of our modernity" is that we are "heirs of philology, of exegesis, of the phenomenology of religion, of the psychoanalysis of language." Thanks to this gift, the counterpart of demythologizing symbol and myth as pseudo-explanation is remythologizing symbol and myth as revelation of the sacred. If, then, demythologizing puts behind us forever a

primitive naïveté, an uncritical belief, it does so while opening to us the possibility of a "second naïveté," a belief that is instructed and refined by critique.

But the detour of this exegesis does more than free a path to the sacred. It opens onto the ultimate paradox of our human situation: the paradox of the servile will. What hovers on the horizon of Part One, which exegetes evil's primary symbols: defilement, sin and guilt, is "a freedom that enslaves itself, affects itself, and infects itself by its own choice." Likewise, on the horizon of Part Two, which interprets the myths of evil: evil as chaos, blinding, exile and fall, we discern an evil that is "always already there" and which, nonetheless, our choice inaugurates. Throughout this impressive work, Ricoeur brings to light the opacity of evil, its hyper-ethical reality, which resists the "foolishness of theodicy" and ruins the pretensions of a merely ethical worldview.

More generally, it is the paradox of our being "guilty victims" which exercises the philosophic genius of Paul Ricoeur in all his major works. His phenomenology of will, published in 1950 as *The Voluntary and Involuntary* (English translation: *Freedom and Nature*, Northwestern Univ. Press, 1966), explores with rare subtlety and rigor the reciprocity of freedom and fate. *Fallible Man* and *The Symbolism of Evil* deepen and broaden this problematic in the directions of a structural analysis of human reality and an empirics of fault. In a work yet to be written, a "poetics of the servile will," he promises to extend the problematic of evil to psychoanalysis, criminology, and, beyond these, to the vast problematic of political power. Ricoeur's own words best indicate the critical importance of his philosophic projects: "When one has witnessed and taken part in the horrifying events which led to the hecatombs of concentration camps, to the terror of totalitarian regimes and to nuclear peril, there can no longer be any doubt that the problematic of evil is also intertwined with the problematic of power" (Preface to *Fallible Man*).

RECENT AND NOTABLE

Issues that Divide the Church. Edited by Robert G. Hoyt. Macmillan. \$4.95. This is the same series that ran for a number of weeks in the *National Catholic Reporter*, only this time it is improved by Robert G. Hoyt's epilogue.

Secular Priest in the New Church. Edited by Gerald S. Sloyan. Herder and Herder. \$5.95. Books and articles on the role of the priest are multiplying, which is a good development. They are needed, and so are the articles collected here, with their useful pointers for the future.

In Pursuit of Dietrich Bonhoeffer. By William Kuhns. Pflaum Press. \$6.75. Harvey Cox once wrote in these pages that we should keep reading Bonhoeffer even if he is a fad. Kuhns' book is the first full-length study by a Catholic and a worthy addition to the growing Bonhoeffer literature.

Infallibility of the Laity. By Samuel D. Femiano. Herder and Herder. \$4.95. Newman continues to exercise his spell, this time drawing forth a sensitive essay from Father Femiano on Newman's "Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine." Since the crux of the theological question concerning the laity is their right to share authority with the magisterium, this book is to the point.

Conflict and Consensus. By Richard Regan, S.J. Macmillan. \$5.95; *Religious Liberty.* By A. F. Carrillo Alborno.

Sheed and Ward. \$5; *Church and State in Confrontation.* By Herbert Stroup. Seabury Press. \$6.95. Somehow or other, the issues of Church and State, and religious liberty, seem relics of the past. But of course they aren't, as Protestants in Spain, as Christians in Eastern Europe, and as Catholics chagrined in the aftermath of the Blaine Amendment fight in New York can testify. Father Regan's book is a detailed study of the Council's Declaration on Religious Freedom, as is the Alborno book. Since Regan writes from a Catholic, and Alborno from a Protestant perspective, the books complement each other very effectively. Stroup's study is sociological, which makes it welcome in an area normally dominated by theology and political science.

The Church in the World. Edited by Charles P. O'Donnell. Bruce. \$5.95. Here is another problem which seems talked to death; but it isn't and it has not been solved yet. These papers came out of a colloquium at Georgetown University and their range is wide: laity, war, economics, education and politics.

Women of the Church. By Sister M. L. McKenna. P. J. Kenedy. \$4.95. A scholarly and interesting study of the ecclesial women of the early Church—the orders of deaconesses, virgins and widows—the aim of which is to set the reforming women's religious orders of today in a broader historical context.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 371)

is to situate transcendent virtue in a historical accident, the obsolescence of the tongue in which at a certain stage of European history the liturgy was uttered: uttered, that is, by transient men, not by the Founder. . . .

I think the battle line indicated in your threnody needs redrawing. It is not between Latin and Vernacular. (And that battle is obsolete). It is between good liturgy and bad liturgy. The tastelessness that has afflicted the Church since the 18th century has pervaded everything that came in when certain forms of words went out. The Commentator is an abomination. The hymns are dreadful. They are badly inserted, and obliterate, as you point out, the prayers before the Introit and also the Offertory. (They are based, in short, on the weakest of the liturgical assumptions that plagued the Church in its pre-aggiornamento era, the assumption that the people need not be concerned with what is going on at the altar: which assumption, having been defeated by the removal of a linguistic barrier, has managed to reassert itself in the provision of a hymnodic distraction.) . . .

Remove commentator, remove hymns, put a premium on decent forms of words, and we would be on the way to something better than Belloc knew. At crisis points, at funerals and weddings, discontinuity with one's childhood is especially painful. This is the sacrifice a whole generation is making, and one's concern, in between such crises, should be I think not with the fact of the sacrifice but with maximizing its benefits for the generations to come: in short with making a holy row not about Latin but about vernacular quality."

HUGH KENNER

Episcopal Power

Rochester, N.Y.

To the Editors: Thanks for telling the bishops the truth in your editorial (Dec. 1), and for telling it so plainly and

strongly. The bishops probably won't get it, but at least you've made some of us feel better, and who knows? Maybe the honesty explosion will blow open even the bishops' minds before Vatican II is completely and merely a library section of footnoted documents. . . .

JOHN M. SHEEHAN

Big Rapids, Mich.

To the Editors: Thank you for the editorial "A Word to the Unwise." What you say about relinquishing canonical power and recognizing only the witness of hierarchical authority comes at a time when we are confronted with the words of an Archbishop Lucey and the mystery of a Cardinal Léger. Lucey is in the sky with diamonds; but Léger is here on earth, filled with the Spirit, struggling with life, ministering to the poor and the suffering. There's no question in my mind as to whose authority is truly overpowering. Unfortunately, it seems to me that the meaning of Léger's witness has escaped the Spiritless press and Church. He is giving up human power in Montreal and in the Church so that the power of Christ's Spirit can move more freely and accomplish what human beings alone cannot. This is classic Christianity, but we've been cleverly eluding it.

(REV.) GASPAR ANCONA

Investigate the Knights?

Northboro, Mass.

To the Editors: Your editorial, "Church Investments" (Oct. 13), was brought very much into focus when I read a related but unrelated report by Supreme Knight John McDevitt at the 85th Knights of Columbus convention in Montreal. Even though the documents of Vatican II did not list the Knights as a distinctive segment of the Church, Mr. McDevitt described them as the "right arm of the Church" so I feel that their annual report, published in the October issue of *Columbia*, points out very clearly the danger and validity of charges of hypocrisy which may come from the poor against the Church.

In speaking of the task before the K. of C. for the Year of Faith ahead, Mr. Mc-

Devitt declared, "to the atheistic world blinded by the bridle flaps of materialism we must show that religious faith brings with it power, zeal and joy which the goods of this world never can get." He then proceeded to reinforce this disdain for the materialistic world through his report to the 85th convention. In reference to "Investments" he stated "Our premium income together with per capita taxes amounted to \$36,442,375 and our investment income amounted to \$12,516,557 for a total of \$48,958,932, representing \$196,000 revenue for each business day throughout the year."

There must be many Councils within the dioceses which have subscribed to Project Equality, and which also have contributed to this financial empire. It might be a good idea for them to investigate the K. of C.'s national investment portfolio.

IRIS M. EGAN

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A CALL to CLERGYMEN and LAYMEN In Whose Name?

Death, destruction, and despair have been heaped upon the Vietnamese people in the name of freedom and democracy—in the name of America!

By what kind of moral calculus can any human being condone the following . . .

- 2,000,000 South Vietnamese, or almost one eighth of the population, have become official refugees. Hundreds of thousands more have been displaced.
- 110,960 tons of napalm have been dropped over South Vietnam since the end of 1963.
- 150,000 acres of crop-producing land as well as 500,000 acres of jungle and brush have been defoliated by 5 million gallons of herbicide in 1967 alone.
- None of the 43 provincial hospitals is "considered up to minimum standards for a developing country in Southeast Asia," according to Sen. Edward Kennedy.
- Since 1961 more than 300,000 Vietnamese and American military personnel have been killed while a conservative estimate would place civilian death at approximately four times that figure.

(Above figures are taken from the U.S. Department of Defense and/or Senatorial hearings.)

The blood we shed in Vietnam makes a mockery of all our proclamations, dedications, celebrations. Has our conscience become a fossil? Is all mercy gone?

Join us in Washington, D.C. on February 5 & 6, 1968 to visit with congressmen in this "political" year, to meet by states to talk tactically about increased opposition to the Vietnamese war, and to make clear our concern for young men of draft age who in conscience cannot fight in Vietnam. Remember, the blood of the innocent cries forever. Should that blood stop to cry, humanity will cease to be.

(Institutions for identification only)

Dr. John C. Bennett
President, Union Theological
Seminary

Father Daniel Berrigan, S.J.
Cornell University

Dr. Robert McAfee Brown
Professor, Stanford University

Bishop Harvey D. Butterfield
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